



# **NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF THE UNITED STATES**

**THE WHITE HOUSE  
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Although the NATO Alliance remains strong and vigorous, aspects of our relationship with Western Europe transcend NATO concerns. These include issues such as trade and protectionism, methods of dealing with terrorism, and policy toward regions outside of the NATO geographic area. We seek to work closely with Western European governments on these matters, though there are sometimes differing viewpoints as is natural among sovereign, democratic governments.

## STRATEGY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

Despite the multitude of changes in the Middle East over the past several decades, U.S. objectives have held remarkably constant. In harmony with the predominant aspiration of the peoples of the region, we remain deeply committed to helping forge a just and lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors. Our regional goals also include limiting Soviet influence, fostering the security and prosperity of Israel and our Arab friends, and curbing state-sponsored terrorism. To achieve these aims, we must hurdle some serious obstacles including continuing, deep-seated Arab-Israeli tensions, the emotionally-charged Palestinian problem, radical anti-Western political and religious movements, the use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy, and Soviet policies which have supported the forces of extremism rather than the forces of moderation.

In working to overcome these obstacles we pursue a strategy which integrates diplomatic, economic and military instruments. With regard to the Arab-Israeli peace process, the U.S. initiative of September 1, 1982 remains the cornerstone of our approach. While working diplomatically to narrow the gap and make direct negotiations possible, we also provide military and economic assistance to our friends in the region to bolster their security in the face of continuing threats. Moderate regimes must be secure if they are to run the risks of making peace. At the same time, we remain willing to confront and build international pressure against those states, such as Libya and Iran, which sponsor terrorism and promote subversion against friendly governments.

In the Persian Gulf region, we also pursue an integrated approach to secure our four longstanding objectives: maintaining freedom of navigation; strengthening the moderate Arab states; reducing the influence of anti-Western powers, such as the Soviet Union and Iran; and assuring access to oil on reasonable terms for ourselves and our allies. Iran's continuation and escalation of the Iran-Iraq War, including its attempts to intimidate non-belligerent Gulf Arab states, pose the most serious, immediate threat to our interests, and provide the Soviet Union the opportunity to advance its regional agenda.

In responding to these threats diplomatically we work persistently to end the war, both unilaterally—as with Operation Stanch, to cease the flow of war materiel to Iran—and through multilateral forums, such as the United Nations Security Council. The current challenge is to get Iran to join Iraq in accepting a comprehensive settlement.

Since 1949, our diplomatic commitment to regional stability and uninterrupted commerce has been supported by our military policy of maintaining a permanent naval presence in the Persian Gulf. That presence is currently expanded to allow us to deter Iranian attempts to intimidate moderate states in the region, and to play our traditional role of protecting U.S.-flag shipping in the face of increased Iranian aggressiveness. Five other NATO governments have also made decisions to deploy naval vessels to the Gulf where they assist in protecting freedom of navigation. A prudent but responsive policy of arms sales for the self-defense of our friends in the region is also an integral part of our strategy, as those nations assume greater responsibility for their own defense.

In South Asia, we aim to reduce regional tensions, especially those between India and Pakistan; to restore freedom in Afghanistan; to promote democratic political institutions and economic development; to end narcotics production and trafficking; and to discourage nuclear proliferation. These objectives are threatened primarily by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the continuing antagonism between India and Pakistan, and the refusal of those two states to restrain sensitive aspects of their nuclear programs.

In dealing with the problem of nuclear proliferation in South Asia, we have followed a two-track approach.

First, we have made clear to the government of Pakistan that our provision of security assistance requires Pakistani nuclear restraint. At the same time, provision of U.S. military and economic assistance helps Pakistan meet legitimate security needs without resorting to the acquisition of nuclear weapons. Secondly, recognizing that there is a regional context for the Pakistani nuclear program, we have encouraged India and Pakistan toward an agreement on confidence building measures. We are encouraged that the leadership in both countries is actively looking for ways to improve their relations with each other.

We remain unequivocally opposed to the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. In the absence of a political settlement which provides for a prompt and complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, restoration of Afghanistan to its independent non-aligned status, and self-determination for the Afghan people, we will continue our firm support for the Afghan cause. We also work to bolster the security of Pakistan, the frontline state hosting nearly three million Afghan refugees, with a second six-year assistance plan. By expanding our ties with India as well as Pakistan, we hope to foster stability in South Asia. Recent advances in technological and scientific cooperation between the United States and India, in both civilian and military areas, with prospects for further growth, have been important in improving relations between our two countries. We also provide development assistance throughout the region and support the work of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to promote stability by fostering regional economic growth.

The sharp reduction in U.S. economic and military assistance funding, plus Congressional opposition to the sale of modern defense weapons to a number of states, has had a negative impact on U.S. security interests in both the Middle East and South Asia. These cutbacks in security assistance have been all the more damaging because threats to friendly states have increased their need for security assistance and weapons. At the same time, the Soviet Union has become more aggressive in offering weapons to countries unable to obtain them from the United States. The Soviets have also become more active in using economic instruments such as debt rescheduling to enhance their own political influence.

## STRATEGY FOR EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

As a Pacific power the United States faces formidable challenges in projecting its strength across that broad region. Our security objectives, as elsewhere, are aimed at helping our allies and friends in the region to develop economically and politically as they defend themselves from encroachment. We are meeting with success in most areas. The free nations of East Asia and the Pacific now lead the world in demonstrating an economic and political dynamism that stands in stark contrast with conditions in other nations in the regions such as Vietnam and North Korea. Our Asian allies and friends also stood together with us in the years of effort required to achieve the INF Treaty, which removes a threat from Asia, as well as from Western Europe.

Soviet military power in Asia and the Pacific continues its steady qualitative improvement, but the U.S. response is not confined to technical issues of relative military strength. Our basic aims are to strengthen the natural political and economic ties that link us with regional states, to evoke greater participation by our allies and friends in their own defense, and to proceed steadily with necessary modernization of our military forces deployed to the area.

Cooperation with Japan remains basic to U.S. relationships in the region. The United States-Japan Treaty of Cooperation and Security formalizes our defense ties, providing a security foundation for the broad spectrum of economic and political associations which uniquely join us.

During the past ten years, a consensus has emerged in Japan that Japan should undertake the primary responsibility to defend its homeland, territorial seas and skies, and its sea lanes out to 1,000 nautical miles. In 1985 the government of Japan incorporated that concept into its current Five Year Defense Plan. Japan's defense spending has increased more than five percent per year in real terms for the past five years, and we have encouraged Japan to continue modernizing its forces in order to carry out its legitimate defense responsibilities. In addition to providing for its own defense forces, Japan contributes over \$2 billion per year to support U.S. forces stationed in Japan.